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Edited by ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

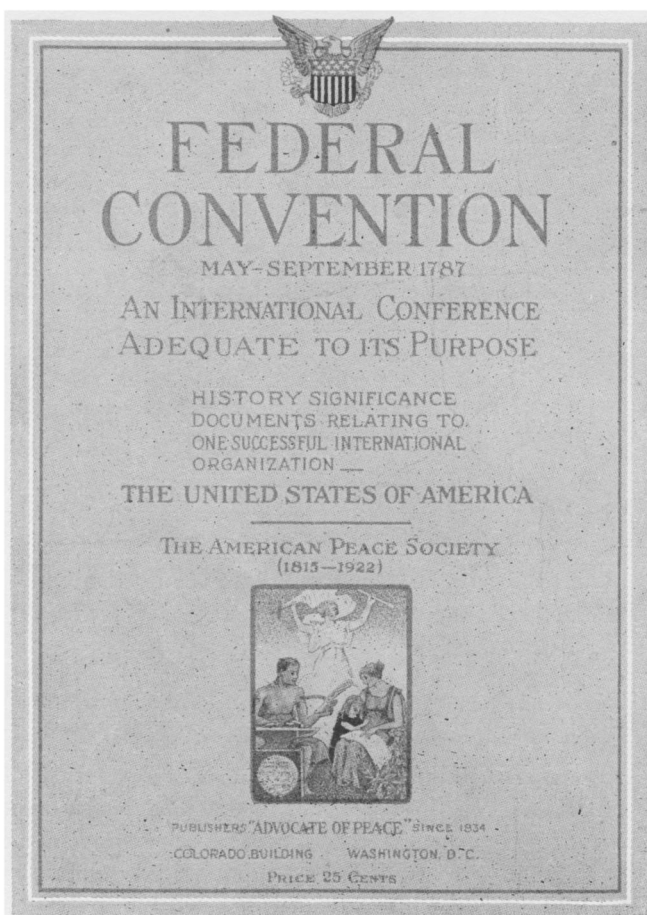
FREE TO ALL MEMBERS

THE BROCHURE, the title page of which is reproduced in the preceding column, is a little book of 84 pages, five by seven inches, published by the Rand and McNally Company and just from the press. The author is the Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. There is an introductory note by James Brown Scott. Each member of the American Peace Society is entitled to a copy of this little text.

It is believed that this little work will render a service, especially to all interested in the cause of right international relations. It is true that we are all interested in the possibilities of some form of international association. The central thought of this work is that the history of the United States is in itself a distinct contribution to any discussion upon this subject. Undoubtedly the Federal Convention of 1787 was an international conference, for the twelve States there represented were free, sovereign, independent States. The Convention is here looked upon entirely from that point of view.

The author finds this fact to be the New World's chief gift to the Old. He views the American Union as an international experiment. He proceeds to point to the great men serving as delegates in that Convention, to show the processes by which the sovereignty of the Crown was transferred to the people of the States, and how a union of free, sovereign, and independent States was achieved. The trials and difficulties are enumerated. The similarity between the conference of 1787 and subsequent international conferences appears. The author points out the international aspects of our Supreme Court and how under the operation of our system political questions between States may and do become subject to judicial inquiry and decision. The whole question of the coercion of States, the bone of so much contention between pro-League and anti-League disputants at this day, is shown to have been a question for our fathers in 1787. How they met the question, how they decided it, and the wisdom of their decision is all here set forth. It is pointed out that this Union of free, sovereign, and independent States is a government of laws and not of men, a civilian and not a military Union. The story of the Convention closes with these words:

"The Father of the Constitution, James Madison, of Virginia, was not unmindful of the value of such a con-



stitution,' to use his own words, 'to the fund of materials for the history of the Constitution, on which would be staked the happiness of a young people, great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of liberty throughout the world.'"

Accompanying the text is a list of references, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States, together with the amendments. There is a map of the United States at the close of the Revolution, facing a map of the United States of today. The book is generously illustrated.

There is always a necessity for looking forward to the new and the untried. A man's reach must exceed his grasp. But just now our Old World needs a new baptism in the faiths and principles which have made America great. Instead of trying to import new forms from nations more hopeless than we, the call unto us is to burnish our wills with a revival of religion, a religion of liberties, foreseen and provided for in the Convention of 1787.

STEP BY STEP

THE Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament was a conference of nations. The American Peace Society places at the head of its "Suggestions for a Governed World" the importance of instituting conferences of nations. The time is near at hand when we shall have a conference of all the nations. The Washington Conference made no provision for a future conference. The Washington Conference was a conference of a limited number of nations; but the Washington Conference was a step toward the more general conference and toward conferences to be held at stated intervals. The time is not far distant when there will be such conferences at stated intervals. Thus wags our old world along, step by step. It has always been thus, particularly in international relations. Progress has always been slow,—step by step. Mr. Root has recently discovered in that immortal source of wisdom, namely, Mother Goose, that "leg over leg the dog went to Dover." There is no other way for the dog to get himself to Dover or anywhere else. It was fitting that Mr. Root should call attention to this esoteric fact while conferring with the international jurists at The Hague, and later while serving with the delegates at the Washington Conference.

The Washington Conference was not everything that it might be; neither did it accomplish everything that needs to be accomplished. It did approve and adopt the following treaties and resolutions, which treaties and resolutions have been submitted by the President of the

United States to the Senate for advice and consent to their ratification. It is well to recall these accomplishments.

TREATIES

- (1) A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, limiting naval armaments.
- (2) A treaty between the same powers, in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.
- (3) A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, signed December 13, 1921, relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean.
- (4) Declaration accompanying the above Four-Power Treaty.
- (5) A treaty between the same four powers, supplementary to the above, signed February 6, 1922.
- (6) A treaty between all nine powers relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.
- (7) A treaty between the nine powers relating to Chinese customs tariff.

RESOLUTIONS

- No. 1. Resolution for a commission of jurists to consider amendment of Laws of War.
- No. 2. Resolution limiting jurisdiction of commission of jurists provided in resolution No. 1.
- No. 3. Resolution regarding a board of reference for Far Eastern questions.
- No. 4. Resolution regarding extraterritoriality in China.
- No. 5. Resolution regarding foreign postal agencies in China.
- No. 6. Resolution regarding armed forces in China.
- No. 7. Resolution regarding radio stations in China and accompanying declarations.
- No. 8. Resolution regarding unification of railways in China and accompanying declaration by China.
- No. 9. Resolution regarding the reduction of Chinese military forces.
- No. 10. Resolution regarding existing commitments of China or with respect to China.
- No. 11. Resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, approved by all the powers, including China.
- No. 12. Resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, approved by all the powers other than China.

Just now treaties 3, 4, and 5, which together make up what is known as the Four-Power Treaty, are before the Senate. There is opposition to this Four-Power Treaty.

The opponents charge that it is a treaty of alliance. The opponents are mistaken. If it were a treaty of alliance, it would be defensive, offensive, or both. In any event, it could relate only to matters of war. This is the interpretation of an alliance taken by practically all of the writers on international law since the time of Grotius. An alliance carries with it the sanction of force. The Four-Power Treaty makes no provision for force, directly or indirectly. This fact appears from the wording of the treaty. It was so specifically stated by Mr. Lodge in presenting the treaty, a statement which